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A REPUBLIC OR A COLONY ?

SOME REMARKS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS

BY
JOSEPH ROYAL

LATE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

MONTREAL
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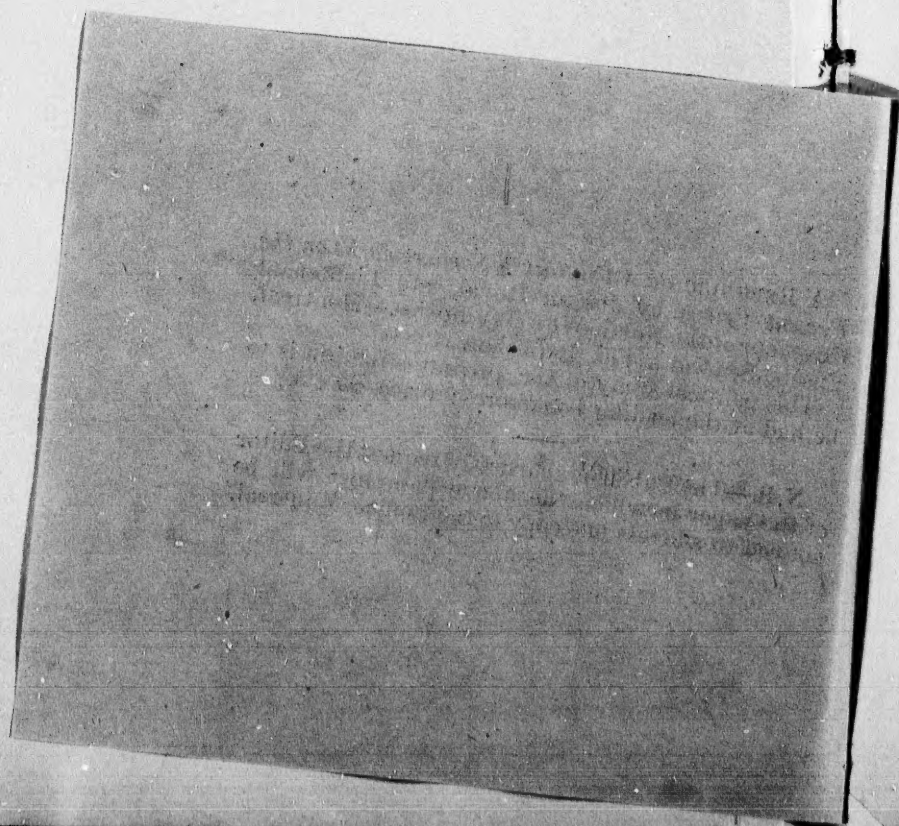
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SOME REMARKS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS

I

In this land of America where societies are born and in freedom reach maturity, it is natural that the Canadian constitution which has lasted for a quarter of a century should now be showing unequivocal signs of insufficiency. Though sound as a political idea in 1867, this constitution is marked in an ever lessening degree by the am-

plitude and elasticity demanded by the ever changing conditions of the country.

The atmosphere that it created hardly suffices for the economic and social life that it has developed ; the intrinsic difficulties after a transient conciliation have become as threatening as before, and beneath the daring feet of the new generation the ground becomes more and more shifting and uncertain.

Commerce, enlarged and powerfully vivified by a tariff wisely protective, longs for that liberty of which all the avenues save those that lead to itself are barred by the Metropolis ; and industry, after having done wonders, is loudly demanding new markets.

Canada continues her forward march, but her equipment grows worse and worse for the definitive attainment of tranquillity within her borders and the development of her public wealth. A country never stands still : it advances or goes backward according to the perfection of its institutions and their conformity to the ideal type adopted

by its leading men. If it relaxes its speed, be assured that no half measures or mere changes of tariff will restore the charm and energy of movement that characterize young nationalities. To transfer the furniture from one room to another may give an appearance of movement, but it is only equivalent to a pawing of the ground and is but the deceptive illusion of life.

The building tends to become too small ; the question is how to provide in time for its enlargement. The family has multiplied, and the children have spread out in all directions like young oaks that require all the dews of a bounteous sky, all the fertilizing rays of an unclouded sun. On the other hand, order is an essential element of a nation's progress, and what is order but the balance of all the social energies, the salutary curb applied to the manifold aspirations of the various groups of a great confederation like that of Canada ? Now this balance, this equilibrium, is menaced at several points of our social organism.

The constitution of 1867, admirable in

other respects, has not made sufficient provision for the maintenance of all rights ; and when young democracies like ours do not make such provision in time, the brutal policy of the stronger is at last enthroned as sovereign, and by a tragic *dénouement*, the song of victory becomes the death-song of justice and truth. The government of majorities soon becomes the formula of the most frightful tyrannies when minorities have no guaranty for their rights, and the weak no guaranty for protection.

The political contract of 1867 was the necessary result of reciprocal concessions between the contracting parties : *Do ut des ; facio ut facias*. Not one of its clauses should have been so construed as to be liable to a disastrous ambiguity that is the mother of chicanery and paralysing crises in politics. Lucidity of expression is born of frank intention ; better wrong brutally affirmed than right timidly concealed under words open to every wind of interpretation.

Let us not forget that the immense difficulties of the Manitoba school question

had for pretext the ambiguous terms of a law by which in 1870 the attempt was made to do what is impossible, that is, in a mixed parliament like ours to satisfy every body. And, if the political horizon is at this moment charged with clouds, if the school question menaces the peace and freedom of conscience of over two millions of Canadians, are we not justified in regretting that the constitution of 1867 was not able to protect us from the source of this dire unrest that has overtaken us ?

Such are some of the signs which impose it as a duty on every public man to consider the present situation so as to prepare opinion for, perhaps, the only possible remedy, the only change which in our judgment would confer safety and life.

It is not necessary to say whether this remedy should be applied to-morrow or the day after : our special aim is to protest against the writings and the utterances of those who assign for the salvation of the country all kinds of ill-defined projects of national and religious suicide. Our reflexions

invite discussion, and we wish it to be serious and worthy of the subject : we would challenge it in the full light shed upon the destinies of Canada by her glorious history and by the private character and social organization of her people.

Yes, it is our belief that certain changes are absolutely necessary, changes that would give an impulse to our progress ; changes which while safeguarding all rights demand the observance of all duties ; changes that would render the power of the State stronger by making men's consciences more free ; changes that would guarantee the general constitution and those of the provinces against the audacious assaults of parties ; changes that would determine irrevocably the organization of territories, the formation and mode of creation of new provinces ; changes that would permit of certain modifications in the constitution of one of the great bodies of the State, modifications sanctioned by experience and the march of ideas ; changes, in fine, which, by relaxing without any shock the colonial

tie, would give to Canada the right of granting or refusing the favors of her customs tariffs according to the dictates of her own best interests.

God forbid that we should entangle Canada in perilous adventures ! But let us have and exercise foresight in order to govern ! A critical situation gains by being looked at without disguise and face to face, without those veils of illusion in which the reality is wont to be shrouded by distrustful timidity, the *laissez-faire* of politicians who have gained their own ends, and the guilty designs of disbelievers in patriotism.

God forbid that the people of Canada, having lost all virility, should become so degenerate through the utilitarian virus and the search for material well-being as to decree their own fall ! The struggle for life is also the law of societies, and for the nation that abandons the battle there remains no expectation but to be trampled on by the feet of the fighters who pass their way.

No, we do not believe that the changes

necessary for our political salvation, if made in time, should have any other goal than that of affirming our exceptional vitality and of realizing the providential ideal of every nation growing to maturity. But we believe also that the actual situation cannot last very long, and that if it should be unduly prolonged, so intense would become the crisis at every stage of the social organism that the heads of the government, *custodes justi*, would find themselves, some fine morning, without authority enough to appease the final tempest, without strength to place the country in a position of security.

II

Here we are met by a question : have the people of Canada a right to seek their salvation by means that would change their political complexion? Would not there be in such an evolution, if desired, an element of insubordination, nay, even of disloyalty, that would offend the principle of authority? Would it not, perhaps, mean a revolt against legitimate power? If the mother country had not on several occasions declared by the lips of ministerial authority, of its representative men of highest distinction, that the tie which attached it to Canada had become virtually imperceptible and that the day when this colony believed that the hour for separation had arrived, she would interpose no obstacle whatever; if the Imperial Parliament had not in 1867

itself paved the way for that event, by the gift of a constitution declaring the North-American provinces self-governing, we would assuredly have some ground for hesitation.

In that case, it would be necessary to begin by addressing to the mother country our remonstrances, our petitions, and to seek in its all powerful intervention the sanction of our national ideas, the remedy for our internal difficulties. But it is well known that England's colonial system has long since ceased to demand this absolute interchange of rights and duties between the United Kingdom and the great colonies over sea. These latter, as was natural, have not failed to enter resolutely on the way that was open to them and there remain but few traces of the old *régime*. They are to-day in the fullest possession of self-government for all questions of internal administration, and the only occasions on which they are reminded of their dependent status is when it is necessary to conclude treaties with foreign powers.

Doubtless, it was the least indemnity that the metropolis could insist on for the enormous risks to which the protection of Canada by her flag has exposed her. "It is certain," writes Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Problems of Greater Britain*, "that as long as Canada remains a British colony, but fails to take sufficient steps for her own protection, we stand at a disadvantage in negotiations with the United States. As a general rule, when one country is invulnerable by another the advantages and disadvantages of that situation are reciprocal. If Great Britain did not own Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States would stand to one another in a military sense in the same relation in which Great Britain and Germany stand to one another, each of them to all practical purposes invulnerable by the other. But, holding Canada as we do, we naturally have to think twice before even standing up for our own in any discussion with the Government of the United States. The Canadian frontier is absolutely inde-

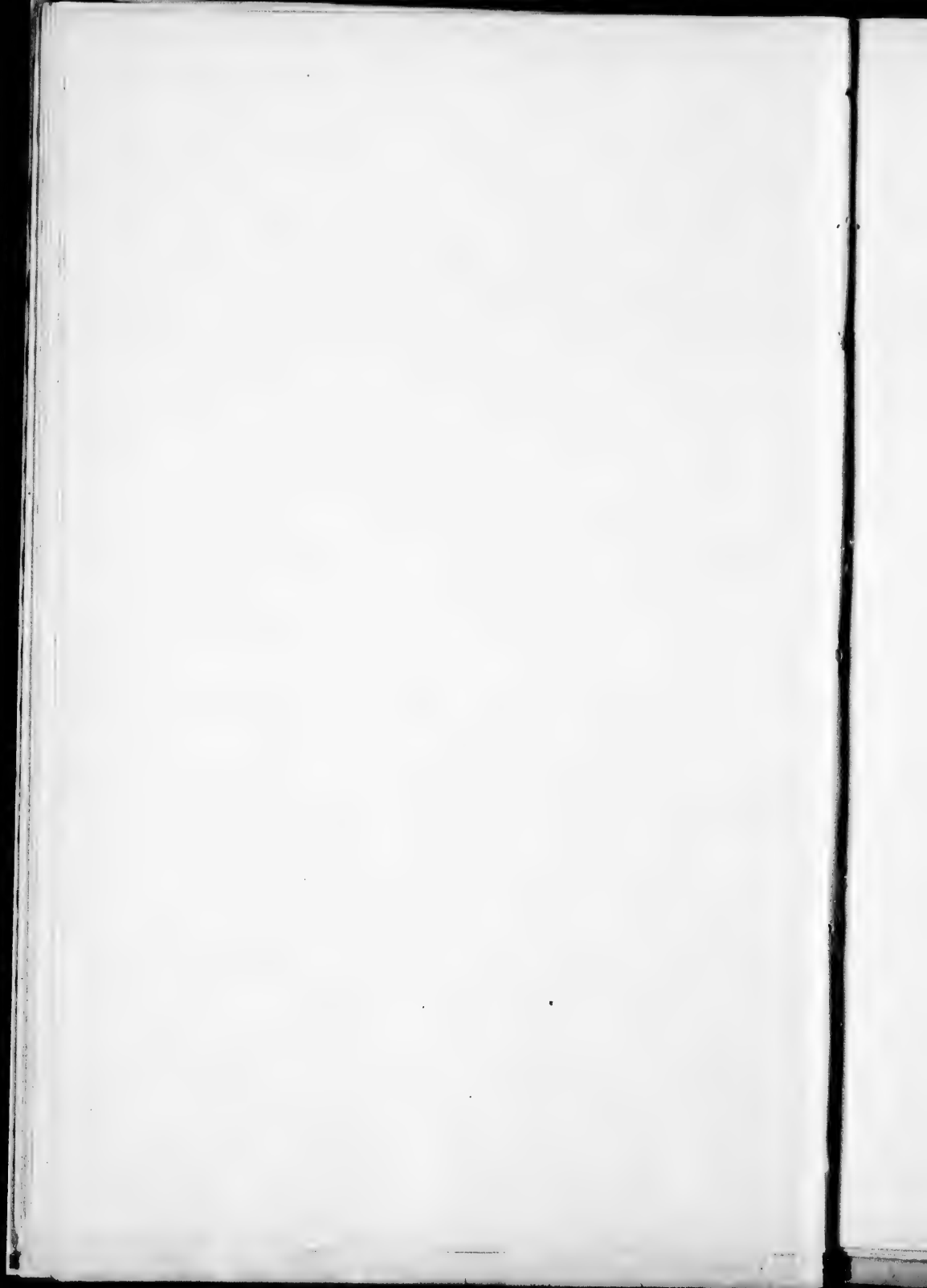
“fensible by England..... On the other
“hand, the overrunning of the Dominion
“by the United States in the event of war
“would appear, when considered from a
“point of view wider than that of mere
“British interests in North America, to be
“a serious blow to the United Kingdom,
“and the loss of Canada by force would
“probably have a good deal of influence
“upon our position in Australia and in
“India. It is impossible for us of ourselves
“to strike out any new policy upon these
“subjects, and evident that we must follow
“Canadian lead.”

Such is the fact.

And as for right, we maintain that the political powers are the destined means for securing order and the immediate object of society, that is, the boon of natural happiness. Now this natural happiness which is to be attained by the power of the state is nothing else than the protection of all rights and the discharge of all duties.

We are therefore justified in concluding that if the constitution of 1867 has become

powerless to assure throughout the Dominion social order and material civilization, it behooves authority to take the measures necessary to remove the evil, and the citizens have the right to demand that this duty be discharged. At the present hour we insist that the Canadian people have the right to study and to seek their safety in the final evolution of their destinies.



III

But it may be asked, is Canada ripe for this definitive evolution ? Does it offer the characteristics that should distinguish a nation ? Can it be said of its economic organization, its traditions, its history, its institutions, its aspirations, its geographical situation, that they form a group of communities presenting in their entirety a special type different from that of the communities that environ it ?

What is a nation ?

The Bible, after giving the genealogy of each of the Sons of Noah, adds : " Such are the families of Noah according to their peoples and their nations. By them were the nations divided after the flood " :— and further on : " And the Lord said, " Behold they are one people and have all one

language, etc." Here in these two passages we find the first concept of a nation. It is the family that lays the foundation of society : community of origin, of language, of religion is indicated as society's primitive elements ; the secondary element, that of territory or country, appears almost immediately when, in punishing the children of Shem, God visits them with confusion of language and forces them to separate ; after which groups are formed according to affinities of speech. Now, in those early times mankind had but one religion. In the course of ages, the nation multiplies to such a degree that its territory no longer suffices either for the tilling of the ground or for other branches of industry ; and then the era of conquest succeeds. Blood is shed and the vanquished dragged behind the chariot of the proud conqueror announces to the astonished world that the liberty of the nations has ceased to be inviolable.

Grotius affirms that the nation is nothing else than a society, a people. The Encyclopedists hold that the nation is a collective

term serving to designate a considerable number of people settled within common limits and subjected to the same government. Coleridge writes : " a nation is the unity of a people." According to another writer, " the germinal idea of a nation is that of a union of people for the purpose of using the collective power to promote the common welfare." Bryce, in his remarkable work on the United States, relates that, some years ago, when the Protestant Episcopal Church was engaged in revising its liturgy, several members of the convention expressed a desire to compose a prayer for the Republic and one member proposed the invocation, " Lord, bless the nation ! " On the following day, the subject being again under discussion, a certain number of lay members wished to change the foregoing invocation on the ground that the term nation was too precise a recognition of national unity. They adopted the following : " Lord, bless the United States ! " Bryce seems to approve of this illogical change because, as he alleges, the American

system is a Republic of Republics, a State composed of States, the life of which latter is more essential than that of the whole. Evidently, in Mr Bryce's judgment, a nation exists only when its allegiance is without division, when its political *régime* excludes all distribution of powers and unless its patriotism has exclusive relation to the image of native land enlarged and unified. For him a nation is constituted only in so far as it is submitted to a form of government which neither delegates its powers nor accepts those of any of the divisions of the community. The author of the *American Commonwealth* is, in our opinion, strangely astray in thus declining to recognize the nation in an aggregation of several groups of confederate families. He attaches too much importance to the form of government in thus making a political *régime* the essential condition of the existence of a nationality.

Mr. James Wilson, who represented Pennsylvania at the Convention of 1787, and one of the signers of the Constitution of 1789, was not of that opinion when he said :

“ By the adoption of the present constitution we become a nation, which as yet we are not. We will form a national character ; to-day we are too dependent on others.”

And this fact, the ratification of the constitution by the thirteen States which made up the community of the English revolted provinces, made them a nation. They had a common language, save that New York comprised a certain number of Hollanders and Swedes, while Pennsylvania harbored one group of Germans and New England a few settlements of French Huguenots. The same religion, Protestantism, was also on the ascendant with the exception of the Catholic colonies of Maryland. They had the same fundamental law—the common law of England ; the same national spirit, formed in the wars undertaken against the motherland, and the same attachment to democratic forms on the part of their several legislatures. Their territories, if not compact, were still bounded by continuous frontiers. Out of a simple league organized with the sole object of

resisting the tyranny of the mother country, the Convention of 1789 made a nation with a central government exercising absolute authority in certain matters strictly defined over the entire federal union, of which, nevertheless, it was the creation.

In our judgment, a nation is a society which has in the course of time attained its full development and possesses a sufficient degree of unity in race, territory and social and political tendencies to distinguish it from all other communities. By a sufficient degree of unity of race we mean the predominance of one race enabling it to absorb and control all the others in the same country ; by territorial unity we mean a region vast enough to allow of the national expansion of its inhabitants ; by unity of speech we understand such a uniformity in language as would suffice for the needs of internal and foreign relations ; by that of religion, we mean the different forms of faith and worship, Christian, Mahomedan, pagan, as principal sources of public or national sentiment.

We have indicated time as one of the elements in the formation of a nation : in fact, nothing here below is the result of a day's effort. A nation cannot be improvised : it is essentially a work of Providence in the divine plan of human societies. Its origin, its development, its progress, its prosperity and adversity are all the theme of its history.

By unity of government we understand a country administered by a *régime* distinct from that of its neighbors ; and finally, by unity of social and political tendencies we mean the peculiar character that differentiates the civilization of one people from that of another. This definition—to confine our survey to the great nations of the present—is applicable to England, to France, to Germany, to Austria, to Russia, to the American Republics, as to-morrow it may be alike applicable to Canada and Australia.

A nation may comprise within its pale several different languages and religions without any diminution of its unity. Great Britain is inhabited by a people whose

origins are sufficiently varied. Nevertheless, the fusion long since accomplished of Saxon, Angle, Briton and Norman was complete enough to render the resulting national element strong enough to control (though without absorbing) the less numerous and unassimilizable races. The nationalities of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, for instance, and the French groups of the Channel Islands have remained apart and largely intact. The English language has penetrated to all the strata of the nation, yet in Jersey and Guernsey, in the Highlands of Scotland, the rural districts of Ireland and in the Principality of Wales, the primitive tongue of the people still flourishes and is not likely to yield to any intruder. It is the same in the matter of religion. The established religion is that of the Anglican Church ; but Catholicism in Ireland, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Methodism among the Welsh constitute the great religious divisions of the nation.

In France, Austria and Russia, we see a like variety of origins, of languages and

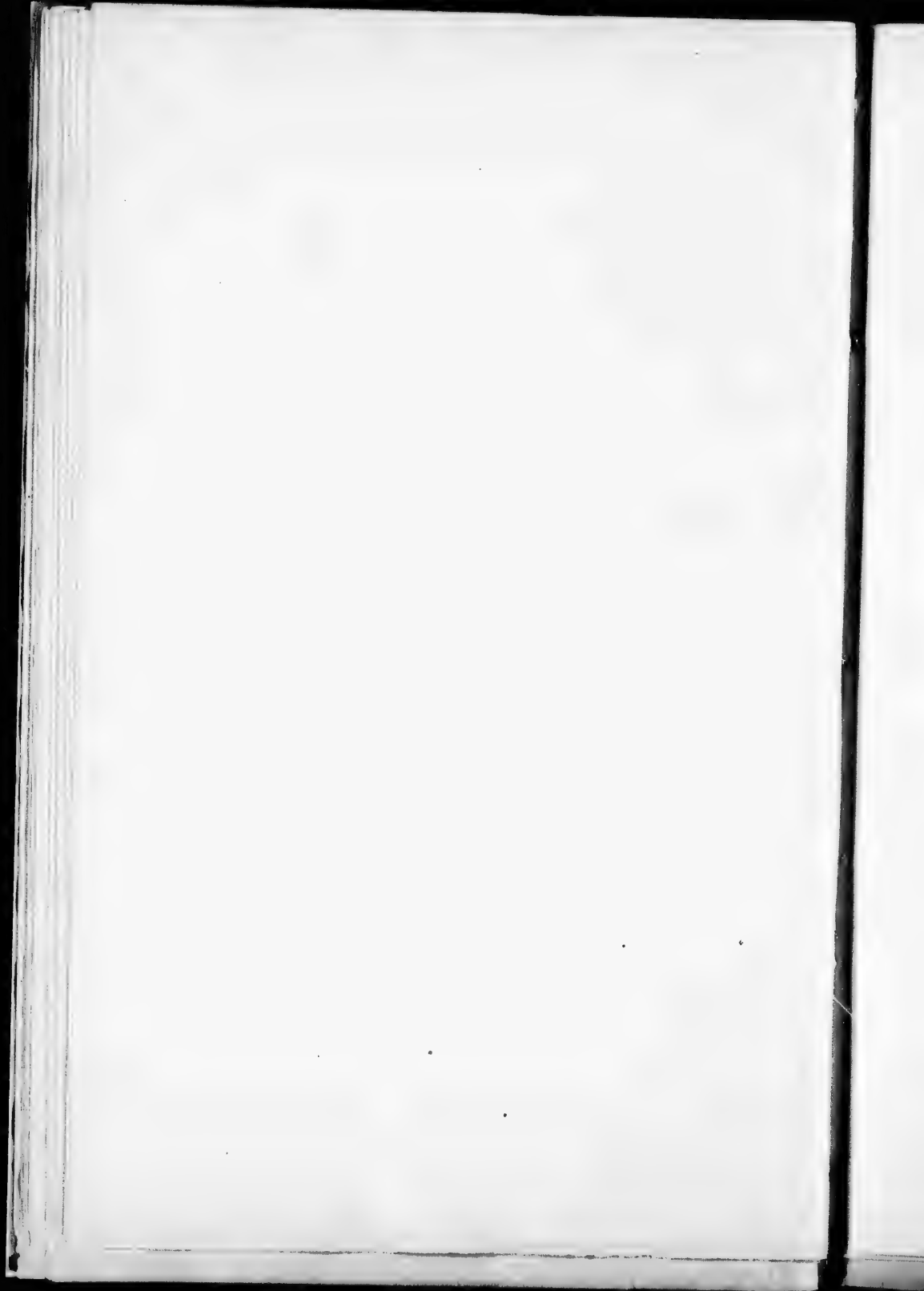
even of religions. Italy, Germany and Spain alone are characterized by an approximate unity of race, religion and language.

In the New World, the Spanish American Republics are inhabited by the Latin races and likewise possess identity of religion, language and origin. The Republic of the United States numbers among its inhabitants from seven to eight millions of Germans, as many of Irish, about three millions of French and some hundred thousand of Italians, Hungarians and Mexicans, making about a third of the entire population. Of sixty-five millions of people, the Catholics form nearly a fifth; the various Protestant sects make up the remainder. Still, in some wards of New York, Chicago or Milwaukee, one might fancy himself in Germany; in others, he might think he was in Italy, while in some of the States, he might imagine that he was in France. This is especially the case in some isolated corners of Louisiana.

The United States became a nation in the midst of incessant conflicts against the

Indians, against the neighboring Colonies and in heroic struggles with the mother country. Like the little Canadian people, it remained for long years without any social intercourse with the nation from which it had its origin, and this condition of things was indeed almost necessary for the formation of a new nationality. A religious faith of most evident intensity animated the more energetic groups, and even when the young republic opened its doors to immigration from the old land, such was its innate vigor that the new elements were constrained ere long to assimilate themselves with the whole and to part with their individualities. In spite of the lapse of ages, England, France, Austria, Russia, never succeeded in fusing completely the races and tongues that went to the making of those powers. The French nation, the English nation, the Austrian nation were the results of several nationalities grouped around the strongest of them. Controlled by the leading element in each case, they ended by coordinating into a single organi-

sation and policy and thus gave birth to a nation distinct from others by its peculiar civilization. History shows that the nations thus formed are among the most prosperous, the most long-lived and the most energetic, and that if a country vaunts itself (like Italy, for example) of the purity of its race, it is clear that the absence of new blood is most often the cause of weakness in social and political development.



IV

Now, if we apply to Canada the test of our definition can we claim that there is such a thing as a Canadian Nation? Does Canada in her unity of government, territory and race present the essentials of a distinct national organism? Like Australia, like the neighboring republic, Canada is a British colony to which the Mother Country has sent its swarms of emigrants, lent its capital and communicated its form of government. But it also differs from those communities in some essential respects and presents peculiar characteristics found in neither of them. It was originally a French possession, a portion of New France. Cartier landed here in 1535; Champlain founded Quebec in 1608, and Maisonneuve founded Montreal in 1642. It was ceded to England

in 1763 with a population of 70,000 souls of one origin, one language and one religious faith. By the treaty of Versailles the victor engaged to respect the beliefs, the language and the laws of his new subjects. In other words, the United Kingdom became the godfather (without perhaps dreaming of such a thing) of this young nationality which it saved from death by separating it from the *mère patrie*, and whose existence and due development it solemnly guaranteed. Later on, immigration from Great Britain colonized Acadia, as well as the western part of the Province of Quebec, and gave birth to settlements which subsequently grew into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario. These provinces had a gradual development. After repeated conflicts with the Colonial office, they finally attained such a degree of autonomy that in 1866, when the political leaders of the time proposed the federation of all the colonies of British North America, the latter were ready socially and economically for that measure of quasi-independence. All these

provinces had their peculiar history, as they had their special methods of expansion. In turn, irritated or soothed by the political condition with which they had been endowed, inspired by the material wants of their geographical situation, they advanced with unequal steps along the path of progress and borrowed from the incidents of the road the peculiar physiognomies that were by and by to differentiate them from each other.

The union effected by the British North America Act of 1867 was not a legislative union. It was of necessity a federation—the one alternative being no union at all—just as the republic of the thirteen American colonies in 1776 had to be a federal union or no union at all. To make this clear it will suffice to recall certain facts that belong to the domain of history. Every one remembers the famous conclusions of Lord Durham's Report and the attempt made in 1841 to fuse into one the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada. Every one knows that, after twenty-five years of varying for-

tunes, the scheme had an abortive ending, the main design of the authors proving a wretched failure. The very nature of things caused this constitution to undergo a deviation in a federal direction, so that, though united in name, the two provinces remained in reality as far apart as before. The legislature nominally controlled by one prime minister had really two; the system which came to be well known as the double majority was early imposed on all cabinets; every administration had a pair of ministers at its head, two political Siamese twins; and the House of Assembly soon learned that the new *régime* was practicable only on condition that the special institutions and usages of each of the provinces were respected by the other. On the written constitution was thus grafted an unwritten one which was the reflection of each of the two nationalities which the former was meant to assimilate. The germs of liberty deposited in the first caused the second to come to life, and the two provinces emerged from the union *régime*.

stronger, more energetic, more seasoned in political warfare and as distinct as ever after a trial of a quarter century.

Some years ago, it may be recalled, there was some agitation touching a project of legislative union between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The end in view, at first sight laudable enough, was such a grouping of the populations of these provinces as would enable them to play in the federal concert a *rôle* equal to that of Quebec or Ontario; and *primâ facie* there seemed to be no reason why such a design should not be realized. In each province the same race, the same religion, the same language predominated. Besides, the Act of 1867 was silent as to the readjustments that might take place in the interprovincial equilibrium. Nevertheless the project did not succeed. And for this reason: each of the provinces had its historic past, its heritage of traditions and an autonomy that it prized in spite of the apparent identity of material interests. They had grown and progressed side by side too long to be able to sacrifice

their separate life and independence. It was in fact too late for such a scheme.

Surprise has naturally been caused at the almost continual wars that desolate the Spanish American Republics, and one is tempted to ask if it would not be better in the interest of civilization to unite the most of these states under a strongly centralized government which would maintain peace within and inspire respect abroad. But there also it is too late for the change. The sons of the same mother have come of age and been emancipated and each of them constitutes a family apart. The stream of social evolution cannot be ascended any more than a nation that has bloomed forth in the free air of democratic institutions can be stifled and crushed.

The Canadian Nation received its baptismal register in the Imperial Act of 1867. Every nationality represented in each of the provinces has become one of the units of the General Government, while guarding with jealous care the absolute control of its own institutions, its civil laws

and social development. Neither Mr. Goldwin Smith nor Mr. Dalton McCarthy shows any deep ethnological knowledge when, settling the future destinies of Canada, they announce their intention of eliminating one of its nationalities because it mars the general uniformity. On the contrary it is this very diversity in unity which constitutes the beauty, the strength and the distinct physiognomy of the Canadian Confederation.

We might here repeat the remarkable words both of Lord Dufferin and Lord Stanley, but we will content ourselves by reading what Mr. Bourinot, President of the Royal Society, said at Ottawa on the 24th of May last, while addressing a most distinguished audience. He had taken for the theme of his discourse, the words : "Canada's intellectual Strength and Weakness," and he spoke as follows :

"In all probability the French language
"will continue into a far and indefinite future
"to be that of a large and influential section
"of the population of Canada, and it must
"consequently exercise great influence on

“ the culture and intellect of the Dominion.
“ Both French and English nationalities
“ have vied with each other in the past to
“ build up their Confederation, and have
“ risen time and again superior to those
“ national antagonisms created by differ-
“ ence of opinion at crises in our own his-
“ tory. Antagonisms are happily dispelled
“ by the common sense, reason and patrio-
“ tism of men of both races. We should
“ look forward to a friendly rivalry on the
“ part of the best minds among French and
“ English Canadians to stimulate the genius
“ of their people in art, history, poetry and
“ romance, by cultivating that social and in-
“ tellectual intercourse which may at all
“ events find them both as one in spirit
“ and aspiration, however different they
“ may continue in language and tempe-
“ rament. Many prejudices must be re-
“ moved, social life must gain in charm and
“ intellect must be developed by finding
“ strength where it is needed in the mental
“ efforts of the two races, with the widen-
“ ing of the sympathies of the national

“ elements, with the disappearance of that
“ provincialism which means narrowness of
“ mental vision, with growth of experience
“ and knowledge with the creation of wider
“ sympathy for native talent. Since the days
“ when Canada entered on its career of
“ competition in the civilisation of this con-
“ tinent first there was an era of French
“ Canadian occupation, then followed that
“ era which dates from the confederation of
“ the provinces, an era of which the first
“ quarter of a century has only past, of
“ which the signs are still a promise, despite
“ predictions of gloomy thinkers, if Cana-
“ dians remain true to themselves and face
“ the future with the same courage and con-
“ fidence that have distinguished the past”.

The nationality of Ontario constitutes a state in the confederation on the same title as the nationalities of Quebec, of British Columbia and of Nova Scotia. It would moreover be just as unreasonable for one of those nationalities to demand the proscription of all the others as for all the others to try and crush out one of them. Besides,

there would be difficulties in the way of such an attempt which it would be folly to ignore ; for to undertake to reduce to social and political nothingness more than a million and a quarter of undividuals or even a few hundred thousands is a task not to be accomplished easily or in a moment.

In Canada the Anglo-Saxon population is in a majority. This element possesses a predominance assured to it by its numbers, its wealth and those strong and solid qualities which have enabled it to occupy one half of the American continent and to hold it as a sovereign. Still its character has been somewhat modified by the action not less energetic of considerable minorities of the Latin race with which it is in necessary daily contact for all the details of social and political life. And it is this happy twofold character which renders the Canadian Nation different from all those that surround it. Its civilization, due to qualities both French and English, comprises good taste, brilliancy, and a development of ho-

nesty and prudence not met with among its neighbors.

Incapable of absorbing the French race that constitutes the bulk of the population of the province of Quebec and includes important fractions of that of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and the Territories, the Anglo-Saxon race is, notwithstanding sufficiently strong in numbers to control the destinies of Canada and to imprint the seal of its prodigious vitality on the industrial and commercial progress of the Dominion. Its power of absorbing and assimilating the colonies of German, Russian, Scandinavian and Icelandic immigrants that arrive yearly from Europe is indisputable and enables it to maintain its *rôle* of the predominant race in Canada. Of this we do not complain.

Assuredly Canadians who speak French as their mother tongue have a right to be proud of their origin. Though they do not belong to modern France, their *rôle* on this continent has been glorious enough to constitute a history of which every chapter

is an epic. Providence saved them from the Revolution of 1790 and from Bonaparte by making them subjects of England ; and their influence to-day in the Canadian Confederation is considerable enough to tempt all the ambitions, and great enough to make them regarded as one of the most important elements in the groups that constitute the Nation.

Uniformity of speech is necessary in an independent country. By this quality we do not mean that all the inhabitants should speak the same language ; for, inasmuch as the preponderance of one nationality does not preclude the existence of other units of race, in the same way the language of the majority should be that of the country for its inter-provincial and foreign relations. Nor should this give umbrage to the minority. Let us suppose a country inhabited by groups of various races speaking different languages, each group strong enough to maintain its identity without alien mixture, but too weak to take the lead and impose its ascendancy on the other. It is clear that a

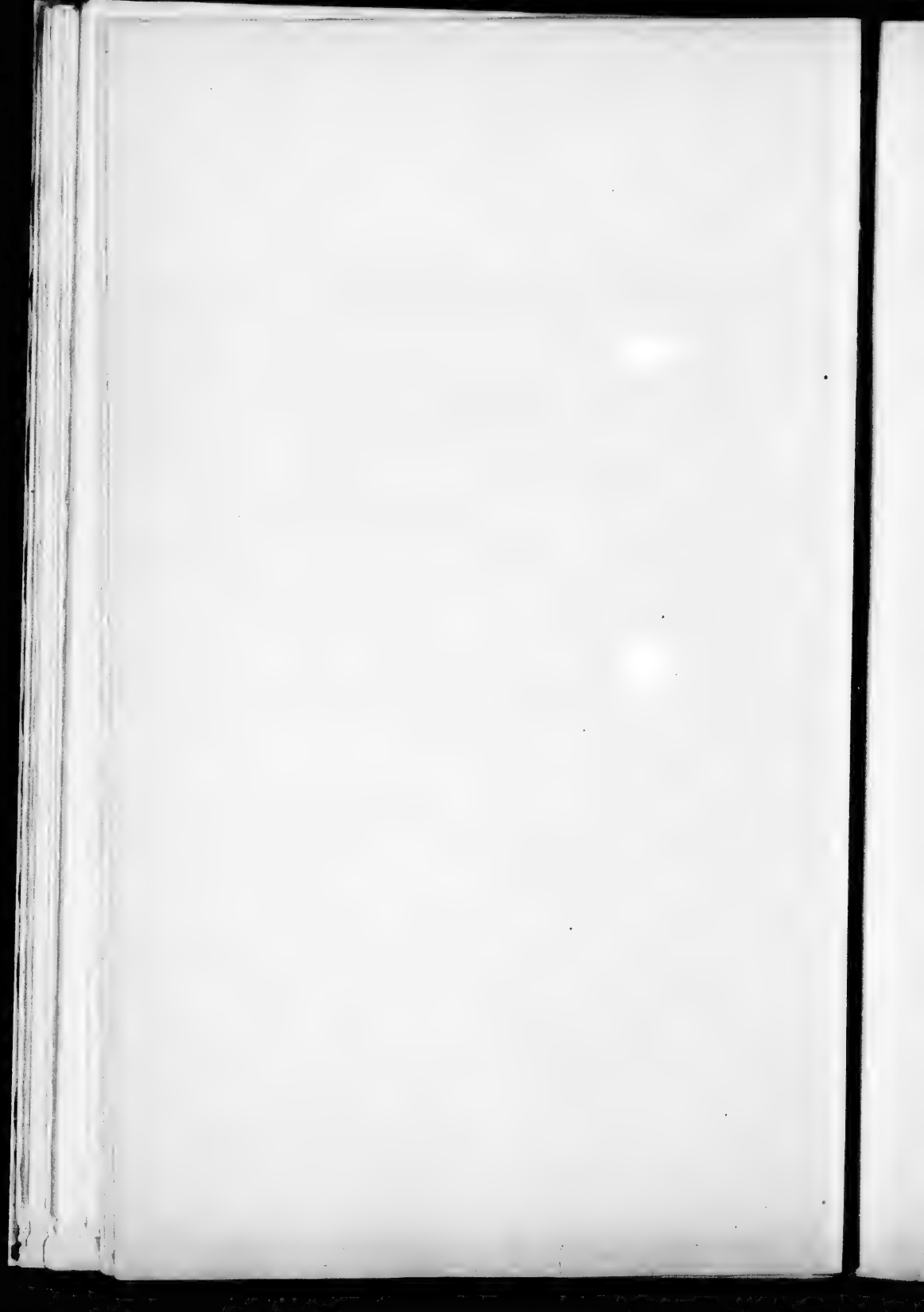
country thus situated would never arrive at greatness or at the repute of a glorious and independent people.

Now, Canada, like England, Germany, the United States and Australia, is a Christian country, whose legislation, habits and manners are inspired to a great extent by the truths of Christ's Gospel. It differs from the foregoing States in the fact that here the Catholics form an imposing minority. More numerous than any single Protestant sect, they are a minority only through the nominal union of the Protestant churches under a common name. We have already seen how the several provinces of Canada had, each in its time, each in accordance with a variety of circumstances and with local peculiarities, developed a character of its own of social and political advancement. This character, which gives to each member of the Canadian Confederation its distinct and separate physiognomy has, in each case, a sufficiency of points of resemblance with that of the next neighbor to produce that

ensemble of family features that is necessary for national unity.

Now, we may ask, has Canada that territorial unity that is requisite for national life and development? In reply to that question it may be recalled that at the time of the violent separation of the New England Colonies from the Mother Country, their population was no greater than that of Canada at the census of 1891. Those colonies little by little pushed back their frontiers to the westward and finally took possession of the half of this part of the American continent. In 1867 Canada consisted of settlements marshalled along the Atlantic coast and the St. Lawrence valley, and in her turn cast her regards to the mysterious west and advanced with giant strides to the Pacific. The annexation of British Columbia finally set the seal to the conquest of her national frontiers, and at this moment the federal Parliament at Ottawa gives laws to a country bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the west by the Pacific, on the north by the Polar

Sea and on the south by the coterminus line that divides our land from the United States. In fine, North America is divided into two great regions — the United States to the south, and Canada to the north. The United States, save where they touch on Mexico, are bathed on the east and south and west by the sea ; Canada has the ocean on the east and west and north. The expansion of the canadian people is menaced, therefore, by no territorial dispute. There is room in the Dominion for a population of a hundred million souls, as there is room in this northern half of the new world for two great federal republics, that of the United States and that of Canada.



V

As we have already stated, the economic situation with which Canada has been brought face to face is one for which the half measures devised by the parliamentary parties are shown to be more and more inadequate with every passing day. This situation is the natural result of the continuous development of the country. Its financial institutions are doubtless admirable in their constitution and administration; but it is no less true that its industries and its commerce suffer no little embarrassment for lack of markets. And this unhappy state of things is simply due to the fact that Canada is not free to conclude her own commercial treaties and to take the measures necessary to secure the custom that is essential to her welfare. As a

colony, no foreign power will listen to her appeals unless they are backed by the Secretaries in Downing Street. Contracts are made not with the subordinate, but with the principal. For instance, the main obstacle that prevents Canada from opening commercial negotiations with the neighboring Republic is her powerlessness to conclude a treaty in which the interests of the Metropolis might if necessary be ignored or neglected. For, supposing that the two governments at Ottawa and Washington were to arrive to-morrow at an understanding, it would still be necessary that the treaty should be conducted on our behalf by the Foreign Secretary at London, in whose hands it would run a thousand and one risks of coming to grief if it contained the least clause favoring the United States without regard to English interests. Yet it is most important for our neighbors as for ourselves that the intercourse between the two countries should be established on a solid and permanent basis. The immense frontier that separates us makes it essential

that our reciprocal welfare and advantage should be placed beyond all doubt or peril. The United States require certain of our products, while Canada, on the other hand, must ever find it profitable to obtain from across the frontier such articles as the Dominion neither raises nor manufactures. We import yearly from the United States more than three millions and a half dollars' worth of indian corn, nearly ten millions' worth of coal, five and a quarter millions' worth of wrought iron, three millions and a third of raw cotton, seven hundred thousand dollars' worth of india rubber, nearly three hundred thousand dollars' worth of fruit, nearly two millions and a half dollars' worth of undressed wool and hides and nearly half a million dollars' worth of kerosene. The imports to Canada from the United States during the year 1891-92 amounted to more than twenty-nine and a half million dollars' worth of articles paying customs duty, and to more than twenty three and two-thirds million dollars' worth of articles on the free list.

On our side we export to the United States nearly ten millions' worth of wood, three millions six hundred thousand dollars' worth of fish, more than a million's worth of horses, a million's worth of sheep, twenty-two thousand dollars' worth of cattle, and more than a million dollars' worth of eggs, cheese, butter and fowls

England takes only second rank. Of her manufactures we receive cottons to the amount of two million and a half dollars, a million and a half dollars' worth of furs, hats and gloves, nine hundred thousand dollars' worth of pottery, porcelain and drugs, more than seven hundred thousand dollars' worth of books, more than two hundred thousand dollars' worth of beer, more than a million dollars' worth of ready-made clothing, a million dollars' worth of carpets, eight and a half million dollars' worth of cloths, tweeds and flannels, stockings, garments, shawls, etc., three million and a third dollars' worth of copper, tin and iron rails. The whole amount of the products that we receive from Great Britain is thirty millions eight hundred

thousand dollars, paying customs duty, and ten millions and a half admitted free.

These statistics taken from the published tables of 1892, and given in round numbers will suffice to indicate on which side the balance of Canada's commercial policy should incline if we would assure the progress of our national wealth.

It may perhaps be argued that this need of fresh outlets for Canadian commerce does not constitute a necessity of the public order, that it is a matter for the manufacturer who should make the demand of his limited custom the measure of his production and that the government should not be held responsible for the excess. This theory we consider false.

In the first place, it is contrary to the Christian idea of society according to which it is the latter's duty to promote by wise measures the healthy movement of the wealth which diffuses nutriment and vigor through the entire body politic. But to assure this benefit, it is not sufficient to

stimulate the producing power which, it should not be forgotten, is of greater importance than wealth itself. It is also necessary to help it on by wise laws, to protect it at least for a time from foreign rivalry by a tariff legislation adapted to its needs. This has indeed been already done for some fifteen years. Nor does any one doubt that without these special privileges the manufacturers of Canada would have succumbed to the ruinous competition of foreign rivals determined to hold control of the market. The day after their creation they would have ceased to exist.

It has been demonstrated again and again that everywhere and always agriculture, commerce and navigation flourish just as soon as industry has attained a certain degree of prosperity. The arts, the sciences, public instruction and the far-reaching culture therewith associated quickly reach the level of material production, and this is the final phase in a nation's economic development. The industrial history of all countries and especially of England goes

to prove that the transition from the state of barbarism to that of the pastoral life, to agriculture, and from agriculture to the beginnings of manufacturing industry and navigation is affected rapidly by means of free trade with the more advanced nations. But it shows with no less convincing force that manufacturing industry cannot attain great prosperity, that a merchant marine cannot acquire importance, that foreign trade cannot assume considerable proportions without the intervention of the State. The less advanced the agriculture of a country is, the greater need its commerce has to exchange the surplus of its raw products for the merchandise of other countries and the more advantageous to it will free trade be. On the other hand, the more perfect the agriculture, the industries and the social, political and economic conditions of a nation, the less profit will it derive from the exchange of its raw material and the surplus of its agricultural products for foreign merchandise. What will be the result if it is obliged to support the competition of a

rival whose manufacturing power is greater than its own ?

The answer is easily made. It will be retarded in its progress by this rivalry of a country more advanced than itself, and unless it takes means to protect its own manufacturers by suitable restrictions, it runs the risk of ruin in an unequal contest.

Of course (we hasten to add) such a measure of protection should not have a character of permanence. Its duration must depend on the time necessary for the protected manufactures to acquire such strength that they have no longer anything to fear from foreign rivalry.

We admit that the protective system would be not only contrary to universal economical principles, but even to the welfare of the country protected if it entailed the necessity of excluding for ever the competition of outsiders and thus of isolating that country from the rest of the world.

When the manufactures to be protected are in the earliest period of their development, the protective duties ought to be

very moderate and should be increased in proportion to the augmentation of the material and intellectual capital, technical capacity and spirit of enterprise of the individuals concerned. Neither is it necessary to protect all the branches of industry to the same degree. Only the most important ought to attract the attention of the State. Such for instance as require for their operation considerable expenditure on buildings, management, machinery, technical skill, ability, experience and trained labor, and the products of which come under the head of necessities of life. Manufactures of this class are doubly important, both as to their total value and from the standpoint of the country's independence. Such are cotton and woolen goods.

If these leading branches of industry receive a sufficient protection and a corresponding development, you will soon see the other less important branches starting up around them under the impulse of a much lighter tariff.

It is a grave error, made in defiance of

the very nature of national economic conditions, to suppose that a country can promote its prosperity, social progress and civilization by the exchange of its agricultural products for foreign manufactures to the same extent as by the establishment of manufactures of its own.

A merely agricultural nation has never succeeded in developing beyond a certain stage its commerce, its means of intercommunication, its external navigation, its population, not to speak of its social and political status and its influence abroad. It is inferior to a State that is at once agricultural and manufacturing, depending, in fact, of necessity, to a greater or less extent, in its economic and political interests, on the country that takes its agricultural products in exchange for manufactured goods. It cannot calculate in advance the product required, being compelled to await the commands of the manufacturing power, its customer.

The agricultural and manufacturing State, on the other hand, produces for itself

large quantities of raw material and provisions, and for what it still stands in need of it applies to nations purely agricultural. Whence it follows that the country which is purely agricultural is, in the first place, as to its sales, at the mercy of the crops more or less abundant of the country that is both agricultural and manufacturing, and in the second place, it has to endure the competition of other nations like itself. Its power of selling its products, already sufficiently uncertain, is thus rendered still more doubtful. Finally, it is constantly exposed in its trade with manufacturing nations to the risk of being ruined whether by war or by a foreign tariff legislation which would suddenly deprive it of its customers and prevent it from obtaining the needed supply of manufactured articles.

To maintain that the protective system, as we here understand it, is simply a means invented by imaginative politicians and opposed to the nature of things is to commit a fundamental error. It is unhappily an error that is widely prevalent. The

history of the world proves that all measures of protection had their origin in the natural efforts of nations to attain prosperity, independence and power, either in war, or in hostility to commercial laws adopted by nations that had attained industrial superiority. The enormous progress gained by England in manufactures, in navigation and in commerce are due to her economic policy. At first that policy was protective; then, when her industries had attained a footing of efficiency which enabled them to defy all competition, protection was succeeded by free trade. This is an example to follow, not merely in the final phase of that economic evolution, but first of all and especially in its initial stage.

Canada has started on the right path, as every serious and impartial economist must admit. Her exports of cereals and cattle rose in 1891 to nearly forty million dollars; in lumber and minerals, to nearly fifteen millions; in products of the fisheries, to more than five millions and a-half, and in industrial products, to twenty five millions,

nine and a-half millions of which represent the exports of cheese and butter. Parliament has only to continue developing the country's fisheries, cherishing and protecting its agricultural industries, to assure to Canada a prosperity unassailable by the ordinary vicissitudes and commotions of politics. But there is one essential condition to the permanence of this progress—the commercial freedom of the Dominion.

Urged by demands heard on all sides, the present government has done its best to open up here and there in the sister colonies some additional outlets for trade. But what has been the result? In the course of the legislative session of 1893, the announcement was made that during the coming summer members of the ministry would visit the principal colonial and other centres so as to collect on the spot such data as would justify, if needful, a revision of the customs tariff as it then existed. These efforts are doubtless praiseworthy, but unhappily they have been characterized by a fatal fruitlessness. If the industries of Canada are

pinning for lack of markets, what is the use of such inquiries? What relief will it bring to our commerce to receive a few orders from Australia or the Bermudas? On the other hand, to preach free trade in a country like Canada, is (we say it without fear of doing violence to either truth or history) one of the gravest economic errors that it is possible to commit.

For everything there is a time. There is nothing absolute in political economy: the most brilliant theories are only relative. It is the science of experiment *par excellence*, and the most difficult of sciences in practical application. It is a science in which everything must have due consideration, in which no detail must be neglected if one would reach right and true conclusions. Nevertheless, we venture to affirm—and this as an absolute principle—that, at the present time, unless we have commercial freedom protection is gravely menaced in a future relatively not remote, and that the issue will be an economic situation which, unless a remedy be provided in time, will involve the country in ruin.

VI

Another consideration demands attention. If it is reasonable to urge that the situation of the country demands a solution which cannot be postponed without great danger, it is no less true that the *dénoûment* might be worse than the evil if it came to pass before the country was sufficiently prepared for it. Now, this final evolution of the destinies of Canada is in the course of accomplishment in the most natural way possible, without shock, without violence, without derangement of the social or political organism, without trouble within or opposition from without. Emancipation is a fruit well nigh ripe ; the tree that has borne it no longer holds it save with difficulty. The question is how to detach it before the winds of autumn come to dash it to

the ground and bruise it. It is for Canada to take the first step, the matter concerns her alone. We are only a source of embarrassment to the mother country which hardly dissembles the joy that she would receive from our departure. Our hesitation surprises her while it does credit neither to our energy nor to our ambition.

Internally, there is hardly anything to modify. The person chosen by the country itself would take the place of the Governor-General, and we should not lack precedents in placing one of our own public men at the head of affairs.

All the administrative departments would remain in operation, the only change requisite being that of the heading of the official letter-paper.

There would be one additional portfolio in the cabinet, that of foreign affairs. Apart from the creation of a consular body there would be no new department to organize. The department of Militia would remain almost as it is, save for a more effective organization for the maintenance of

order in the interior. In fine the budget would retain its actual framework, and Canada would have no more trouble than at present in raising the revenue, observing economy and upholding in Europe the splendid credit with which its governments have endowed it. In whatever direction we turn our eyes, we should perceive neither public nor private interest in the least disturbed by the new order of things. It is indeed just the opposite that would take place.

Canada in control of her own political life would become a nation whose full development in all her social energies would be retarded by no obstacle. The struggle of life would assume a different character ; new careers would open to the ambition of our young men ; there would no longer be any fear, when the time arrived for gathering the fruit of many years' study and effort, of seeing themselves supplanted by strangers sent out from the old country to get rid of them.

The colonial militia would be transform-

ed into a small regular army, the officers of which, formerly without any prospect save that of spending on vain parades their leisure and their money, would see opening before them a serious career attended with both glory and emolument.

We may here be permitted to express our approbation of the clause in the federal act of 1867 which, unlike the provision of the United States constitution, places in the hands of the central power the organization and command of the military forces of the Nation. The thirteen colonies were especially bent, in the elaboration of their politics, on weakening as much as possible the jurisdiction of the central government. Their independence had cost them dear in men and money, and they were determined to take all possible precautions against the imposition on themselves of a despot under another name. Here we have the secret of the endless complications and wheels within wheels that strike the student of the political organization of that powerful nation. Canada's constitution was framed

under circumstances entirely different, and the different provincial autonomies might without danger for the common welfare make still larger the share of the federal state. The general security would be only the better guaranteed by the change.

The neighboring republic broke violently the ties that bound its constituent colonies to the mother country. Canada, on the other hand, would untie her bonds in peace and good will and would preserve intact the kindly relations with the mother country.

It is true that we should lose the protection of the British flag, and this is apparently the most powerful objection that can be urged against the proposed change. Having for neighbor a nation of sixty-five million souls, what would become of Canada if left to her own resources with a population of only five millions? The United States would make but a single mouthfull of us, if ever they entertained the desire to swallow us. That may be quite true. But the desire, is it probable that it would ever

seize our neighbors ? In the first place, we do not see what interest they would have in a conquest of Canada *vi et armis*. Would it be to increase their power ? Would it be to augment their wealth or simply to get rid of a neighbour inimical to their social and political well-being ?

Is it not their interest, on the contrary, to permit Canada to develop her own institutions, which, although different in some respects, are quite as democratic as their own ?

It is to territorial ambitions that in all time wars have mostly owed their origin ; but such ambitions are not entertained by the United States. The republic has satisfied whatever such ambitions she may have cherished without shedding a drop of blood, without firing a single shot. When she wished to rectify her frontiers and to diminish the number of her neighbors she did as a great proprietor who dislikes pettifoggery would do ; we have seen her in succession buy Louisiana from France, Florida from Spain and Alaska from

Russia. Experience and reason moreover teach us that there are limits to the extent of a country as there are limits to the population that any system of politics can efficaciously govern. The Roman empire had no very long duration and the century now closing saw the beginning and the end of Napoleon's audacious attempt to subject all Europe to the same imperial sceptre. The unity of territory that should characterize a nation comprises, on like grounds, the unity of climate which seems to be a natural condition of correspondence in material interests.

The zone occupied by Canada embraces a country generally characterized by its rigorous winters ; the neighboring Republic is almost wholly exempt from this season of extreme cold and abundant snow. The two countries differ, therefore, as to unity of climate. Besides, a nation that does not restrict its frontiers may not be able to maintain the equilibrium that should exist between the productive forces that constitute its wealth, by reason of the profound

diversity of social interests and tendencies sure to be created at remote points of the empire by a population of from a hundred and fifty to two hundred millions. The statesmen of Washington, careful of the future of their great nation, will always, we believe, refuse to run a risk the advantage of which would in any case be problematic. Canadian civilization has besides a character of its own which distinguishes it from that of the United States. There are marked differences between their governmental system and ours. Our democracy is more real because it never ceases to act upon the government, and it also borrows from a happy combination of nationalities a constitutional texture eminently sound and conservative.

We claim to possess the best *régime* : that of our neighbors is the most complicated.

If Canada were a region almost uninhabited the neighboring Republic might possibly sooner or later cherish the design of acquiring it as it has acquired Louisiana,

Florida and Alaska. Hitherto the United States have imitated the speculator in real estate who prefers to make his stock jobbing venture on vacant lands to taking his chances with those that are built upon. The latter is embarrassed in his schemes by buildings already completed; and in the same way countries already peopled would impede if not prevent the plans of assimilation entertained by the United States. The annexation of Canada would increase neither the power, wealth nor progress of the Republic in a measure proportionate to the embarrassment that it would occasion in its domestic policy.

Neither to be coveted nor likely to give trouble, the Canadians by the force of circumstances are indifferent to their neighbors, and it remains for the wisdom, prudence and ability of Canada's stateman to maintain with the latter the happiest of neighborly relations. Our very weakness might turn out to be our strength, and our most formidable protection to have no armament at all or almost none. Besides,

with the more and more astounding inventions that every year adds to the world's repertory, we may be justified in believing that in the future it is not always the big battallions that will decide the victory.

Among nations fear begets hatred, and every power naturally tries to destroy that which arouses its suspicion. Let us remember that the object of the Monroe doctrine is to prevent European nations planting on the free soil of America any form of government that is not republican ; it does not aim at the conquest of the world. Nor are we of those who hold that the neighboring Republic is a nation without faith or law, which abuses its strength to maltreat the weak and cherishes a settled resolve to annex Canada at any cost. Possibly this notion was in the first place due to the Fenian raids and the uneasiness thence resulting in the intercourse between the two nations ; but every one knows that during the presidential elections it is in certain circles considered good tactics to conciliate the Irish element by twisting the

tail of the British Lion. Now, as Canada is a British possession, the annoyances that we sometimes have to put up with are really aimed at the Metropolis for which we have to pay the score. Let Canada only become independent and these vexations will come to an end.

Why should we pretend to ignore it ? Does not the history of the last seventy years clearly show that England has always sacrificed us whenever our neighbors have claimed a morsel of territory, now a province, now a strait, but ever the surrender of something belonging to us ? Since the famous capitulation of Lord Ashburton Canada always knows beforehand what to expect from the boasted protection of the British flag. First of all the interests of the Metropolis ; then (if there any left) those of Canada : that is the rule. It is not sentiment that inspires the policy of the mother country ; it is the desire to augment the custom of her merchants and to keep out of quarrels with other powers. Peace is the primary condition : it costs her less to endure

the affronts that Canada receives than to have a war with the United States. From this standpoint, therefore (that of imperial protection) it seems to us that the loss through separation would be sentimental rather than real. Fully responsible for all our acts, thoroughly aware of the consequences of our discussions with our neighbors, having only our own interests to consider, would it not be easier for us to avoid any cause of dispute or to arrive at a settlement in which honor and justice would be vindicated than under the actual *régime* of imperial connection?

We write this without any spirit of recrimination. From its own standpoint the colonial policy of the Metropolis may be logical, and if we sometimes complain of it, it is rather to bring to light the inconveniences inseparable from our dependent position than to bring charges against Downing Street.

Canada has not, cannot have, territorial ambitions. Her possessions are sufficient and her frontiers accurately delimited so that

even a child can indicate them in a moment. On the other hand her diplomatic service would be confined to the maintenance of consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents. No maps to readjust ; no balance of power to safeguard with jealous care ; no court, no pageantry to defray. European quarrels might cause us distress but could in no wise menace us. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark and the several republics of America have each representatives in the ports of both hemispheres where they do or hope to do business. The expenses of these services are by no means exorbitant. In this respect Canada could follow their example. It is well known that besides the diplomatic service the great powers have also a consular organization the regular reports of which furnish to their merchants detailed and valuable information on the movement of agriculture, industry and commerce in the countries to which they are accredited. Of the first (diplomacy) Canada will have no need ; it is in the consular organization

that her advantage will lie in order to increase her exports, augment her productive power and profit by new markets opened to the enterprise of her citizens.

The consular career demands an apprenticeship, special knowledge and strict conditions of honor and respectability ; but Canada will not lack sound traditions to attract and acquire the respect and consideration of foreign countries.

Such are all or nearly all the few changes which the definitive development of Canada's nationhood would require. There would be no shock ; the future would be assured ; a large measure of economic progress would be guaranteed ; a fresh impulse would be given to the development of our material resources and the common welfare would be broadly organized from base to summit of the social edifice.

VII

It is not, we believe, necessary to be a prophet to foresee that the same class of causes that led to the provincial conference of 1866 will ultimately force Canada to seek in independence the definitive goal of her internal peace, security and strength. The evil from which the country suffered then is that which troubles it now, a disease of growth, of ill regulated vitality. The crises of that period presented in miniature the profound agitations of the present hour. As now they concerned the organisation and regular progress of our political institutions : this part of the subject we have already considered. As now they seemed to attack the very foundation of the social organism : and this phase of the question we shall now examine.

Let us say at the outset that Canada will never be happy until the authorities of the state practise justice in everything. If the interprovincial compact of 1867 has failed to make sufficient provision for this, it is the duty of the political leaders to take the earliest opportunity of doing away with this source of all our misfortunes and to preserve the new constitution from its baleful influence. This is the only means we can suggest for the restoration of peace to those portions of the social organism that have of late been so violently agitated.

There are rights and liberties that ought never to be put in question. And this undesirable result is sure to follow when the constitution does not shield them from the audacious attempts of political parties. The statesman who undertakes the construction of an edifice of Nationality should devote long and serious study to the foundations on which he is to raise to heaven both the partitions that divide the several parts and the roof that covers them all. The foundations must not be too weak to

support the weight of the storeys that successively rise above them and each other. In other terms, a constitution is but poorly fitted for the glory of a great nation if as to all rights and the rights of all it remains without strength, without voice, and if justice is either neglected or the charge of it left to some vague hope in half-measures that satisfy no one, or compromises that settle nothing. Both Christian doctrine and science agree that the aim of human society is to make individuals mutually helpful in preparation for that supreme happiness which is the goal of every creature endowed with soul and body. It is in the want of this mutual support that the idea of a concrete association has its birth. But if the supreme good is indispensable in determining the operation of human society it does not follow that this constitutes society's immediate aim. In the pursuit of this aim the twofold nature of the human being must ever be kept in mind. Society has no right over the spiritual part of man : its action is limited to the exterior order of

things and to providing individuals with facilities for obtaining physical welfare. The soul is entirely beyond its influence, its interests crossing the frontiers of the visible world and being provided for by religious society. Let us add as a corollary to this principle that the measure of social welfare is the welfare enjoyed by the totality of individuals. Bentham says that we must not judge of a country's happiness by its enjoyment of a greater or less degree of political right but rather by the wisdom of its civil laws and by the manner in which justice is understood and administered. But what is this social welfare ?

Is it the good pleasure of everybody ? Is it the excessive pursuit of material satisfaction ? Is it the civilization that arises mainly from progress in the industrial arts ? Is it in politics the unchecked rule of the majority ? Is it the tyranny of numbers in religious matters ? No ; the public welfare that society craves and needs consists above all in the thoroughness with which the rights of all are safeguarded. Every indivi-

dual citizen or inhabitant of a country (we are speaking of Christian countries) has a right to life, to the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor, to the supremacy of the father in the household and to the freedom of religious worship. These rights are without prescription and society exists only for their protection. But as the theory of rights necessarily implies that of duties, every citizen owes obedience to the laws, the exercise of justice and charity towards all, love to her fellow-men and the education to his children.

The art of government is comprised in the conduct of a government in directing individuals to the true, the beautiful or becoming and the good or essentially right. The more rights are respected in a country, the more truly does justice reign there and the greater is the degree of civilization that is met there. The peace of families and the happiness of individuals are the result of the observance of the Decalogue not of the scientific discoveries of our time. It is understood then that the accidental or secondary improvement of society may

increase without limit under the direction of a good government, because society is endowed with faculties indefinitely perfectible in the intellectual and material order. It is destined to continue improving without ever attaining the goal of perfection. It is the continual development, the progress, the forward march of humanity, the unwearied advance, the endless ascent of man towards a superior order of organization and of peace, towards the realization of a splendid and flawless social unity.

These principles are, we are aware, repugnant to the utilitarian and materialist school, and yet they are charged with life and light and have been recognized by the great economists of our age as being the soul, the life blood and the very substance of human societies. Whenever they are misunderstood and slighted the organism suffers, and the intensity of evil is ever in proportion to the importance of the principle that has been violated. It is the eternal law in the physical and in the moral order ; and if our country has its periodic crises of

hurtful agitation, it is because certain rights have been systematically misunderstood by the majority of the State either in the provincial legislatures or in the federal parliament.

Canada is a federation of States distinguished from each other by diversity of customs, traditions and social development, and by difference of origin, of religion and in some cases of language. From this diversity arise the rigid necessities of a mixed society. The very essence and logical source of this federal *régime* are found in the respect and protection guaranteed by all the members of it to the religion and national rights of each provincial unit. Thus the act of 1867 decreed that the laws of the federal Parliament should be printed in both languages, French and English, and that the separate school system should be continued in the two Canadas,—this provision being affirmed by an organic clause. Alas, the Protestant majority in 1866 refused to go further and the Catholic minorities of New Brunswick and Nova

Scotia were left at the mercy of the generosity or the fanaticism of their respective majorities. Later, in 1870, the federal Parliament sanctioned by a constitutional clause the right of the Catholics of the new province of Manitoba to the separate school system. But as the Catholics seemed then and there to have the majority it might appear that by so doing the intention was rather to guarantee the liberties of the Protestant minority. Care was taken nevertheless not to insert a like clause into the constitutions of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia when those provinces were about to enter the Canadian confederation, probably because the majority of the inhabitants was Protestant. Through negligence or forgetfulness or lack of political foresight or the absence of that "hunger and thirst after righteousness" of which the Holy Scriptures speak, Parliament made by such an omission a grave mistake, the deplorable consequences of which in due time declared themselves. The crisis which rages in our day with more violence than

ever and threatens universal disaster unless a remedy be provided, is to be traced to no other cause.

Protestants have not to be informed that a Catholic can endure no compromise on the question of educating his children, and that he rejects with all his might a system in which their religious faith is not sufficiently protected. To him the question is one of conscience and constitutes one of his most precious liberties. Nevertheless, wherever they are in a majority (unless checked by constitutional law) the Protestants by a deplorable lack of justice force Catholics to pay a school tax from which they are well aware that the Catholic parent can derive no advantage in the education of his children. In other words, the Catholic ratepayer is obliged to contribute to the expenses of educating the children of the Protestant majority ; and, if he wants to have schools to which he can conscientiously send his children, he must impose on himself another tax, thus paying two taxes one for the Protestant

schools, the other for his own. Would not such a denial of justice, be hardly credible if it were said to exist elsewhere than in an ignorant or depraved community ? But how, you will say, can one explain such a tyranny on the part of people who deem and loudly proclaim themselves to be tolerant, liberal, friends of justice, declared adversaries of those who oppress the weak and unfortunate, of people who talk of *British fair play* as if the practice of that grand virtue had become a sort of national monopoly ! Assuredly they ought to be able to allege good reasons for thus dealing with their Catholic fellow-citizens whose tolerance has never been denied or belied. Such pretences we cannot allude to without insisting on their falsehood and bad faith. A short discussion of those reasons may not seem to be out of place at this juncture.

In the first place, the Protestant majority says through its leaders and its organs :
“ We wish to establish in Canada a uniform

“ system of public schools so that the
“ children who are destined to become citi-
“ zens of the same country may become
“ acquainted with each other in early youth
“ and be formed as it were in the same
“ mould. We want the children to be so
“ closely associated by receiving the same
“ lessons from the same teachers that
“ when they grow up they will have no
“ excuse for treating each other as stran-
“ gers who have nothing in common in
“ the fulfilment of their duties to society
“ and to their country.”

Secondly, they hold this language : “ We
“ maintain that if the majority were to
“ grant to the Catholic minority the privi-
“ lege of keeping separate schools, it would
“ be flagrantly unjust to refuse a like privi-
“ lege to the Anglicans, the Presbyterians,
“ the Methodists, the Baptists and the
“ other denominations, an arrangement
“ which would render impossible any sys-
“ tem of public instruction by reason of
“ the countless complications and the exor-
“ bitant expenses that it would involve.”

They say in the third place : “ We dis-
“ approve of the separate school system
“ because it necessitates the maintenance
“ of a twofold administration which is very
“ costly and augments in no slight degree
“ the school taxes.

The majority is also reinforced by all those who, rejecting all religious teaching in the public schools, unite with the Protestants because the latter make the nearest approach to their point of view and generally add to the study of arithmetic and grammar the smallest possible dose of religious instruction. Now, some know, while others do not know that Mr Martin, author of the Manitoba Catholic spoliation law, belongs to this class of deistical and utilitarian politicians. If he consented to admit into his law certain anodyne clauses allowing of a sort of vague religious instruction, he did so merely lest his measure should be rejected by the Protestant members. But let no one be deceived : what Mr Martin really wanted was the godless school system that accepts neither the immortality of the soul nor any

other doctrine of Christianity. The legislature was not quite ripe for paganism—only for injustice.

The first proposition of the majority takes it for granted that in the Catholic schools there is a teaching opposed to the precepts of Christian charity and to obedience to the country's laws. It takes it for granted that our children learn from their teachers, male and female, to hate and despise the other children who neither speak their language nor profess the Catholic faith. For to insist on Catholic children attending the common schools in order to make them better citizens is clearly to affirm that the separate schools cannot teach that lesson. Now this pretention is false and calumnious : it is based on the darkest ignorance of facts or the most absurd prejudice. To say good Catholic is equivalent to saying good citizen. Once the falsity of this notion is proved, we shall see if it is not possible to come to an understanding regarding the unsectarian schools.

Meanwhile, we hold as a proposition

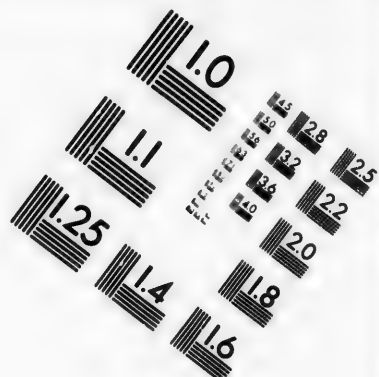
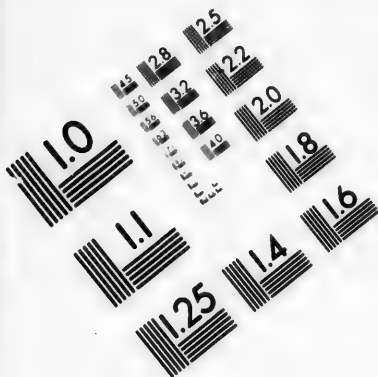
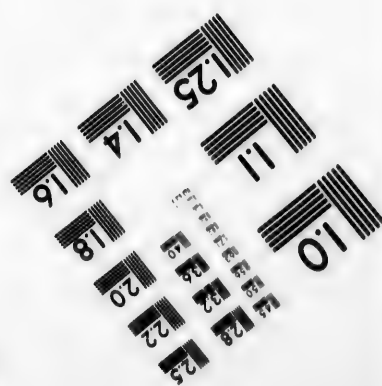
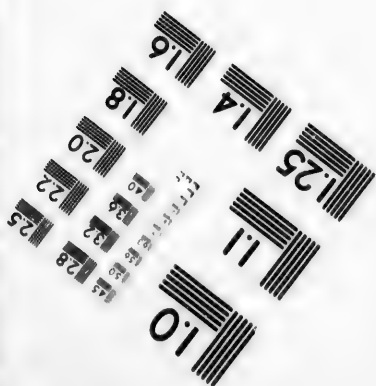
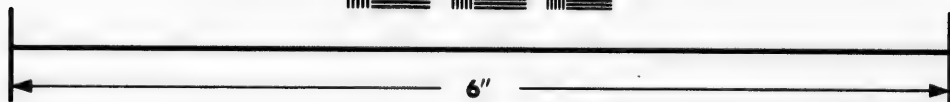
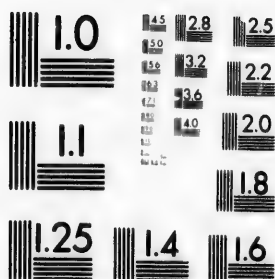


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equally irrefutable that if the Catholic school forms as good citizens as the unsectarian or common school all objection is reduced to the expression of a simple preference in the choice of a method. The Protestants and deists believe in the efficacy of one method ; the Catholics in that of another. But, in that case, how can the former claim the right of forcing their opinion on the latter. Have the Catholics ever tried to force their opinions on them ? Does not the province of Quebec, where the Catholics have the majority, leave the Protestant minority the most complete liberty ? Is not this the case all over Canada wherever the Catholics have the predominance ? Now, if the method practised by the Catholic schools in all the provinces of the Dominion is at least as efficacious in forming good citizens as that of the common or Protestant schools, it follows that those schools have absolutely and incontestably the same right to the protection of the law and the encouragement of the State.

Yes, let us make all our schools national,

that is, establishments where the child to whatever religious faith he belongs may first learn his catechism, then the glories of his own country's history and the superiority of Canadian institutions to those of other nations ; establishments where mind and heart are impressed by the beauty of patriotic associations ; where pupils are taught to be proud of the name of Canadian as children in England, France, Germany, Italy, the United States are trained to love their own lands. That is the class of National Schools that we desire, and no other.

The second proposition of the opponents of the Catholic schools seems at first sight to contain a certain justice. Nevertheless on closer inspection it is seen, like the former, to rest on an alleged fact which has no real existence. It is, indeed, based on a falsehood.

For, if in the schools it were the rule to give complete courses of religious instruction we should not hesitate to admit that Protestants have the same right as Catholics to freedom of conscience ; and it would be

supremely unjust and tyrannical to force the Methodist to send his child to an Anglican school, the Anglican to send his to a baptist school and so on. The religious teaching however has but a restricted and superficial place in their system. A little reading of the non-controverted portions of the Bible, a short prayer, in which the Blessed Virgin and the Saints are not mentioned at all,—that is the whole. On ground thus cleared, all Protestant children have no difficulty in meeting ; but the Catholic child cannot participate in such devotions without his faith incurring the gravest risks of which the least is indifference. Not to speak of the larger share which Catholics allot to religion in their programme of education, the interpretation of the Bible by the infallible authority of the Church, Confession, the dogma of the Eucharist, and the cult of Mary Immaculate are so many insurmountable obstacles to their acceptance for their children of the religious instruction and the prayers prescribed by the Protestants in their primary schools.

It is evident, therefore, that there is no injustice in obliging parents of any Protestant sect to send their children to the common school because there is nothing in the religions teaching that does violence to any rule of faith that is common to them all. And if this system satisfies them just because the beliefs of their children are respected, why should they refuse to Catholics a system that would assure them also of the same immunities?

But, add the tyrannical majorities, the separatist system entails the expenses of a twofold administration and therewith an intolerable increase of taxes.

Here we have still another falsity or at least an exaggeration of the most perverse character. Those who make the foregoing statement have been content to repeat it without the least attempt at serious demonstration by means of figures. We insist that whatever may be the expenses of this duality of administration it would be easy to reduce it to a minimum by an understanding between the two corporations. This

invitation has never been accepted. We are well aware that the attempt has never been made.

Besides, what a monstrous doctrine is that which consents to give injustice free course because it would cost a little more to have right respected ! Is not this a sweeping denial of the very first principle of all human society ? Is it not to consign to the stronger the right of deciding when and how the weak should be protected, when and how the law should be enforced ? And from another point of view what means this hypocritical plea of economy ? It has always been clear to us that all that the catholics ever asked is simply the management of their own funds, and to deny them this right is to falsify one of the fundamental maxims of british constitutional law sanctioned by *Magna Charta*. As we have already said, the end that men have in view in living in society is mutual help, mutual protection, the reign of peace, concord and happiness by respect of neighborly rights. With this intention the mem-

bers of society contribute to the maintenance of a power, an authority, a government to which the discharge of those sublime duties are incumbent. What then is mere pecuniary outlay however great when the matter at stake is the assurance of contentment among the citizens and of harmony between the various groups of which the population is composed. Men live in society not to lay up treasures but to guarantee the maintenance of order which is the observance of right. There is no civilization where order is absent ; there is no civilization when justice does not reign ; there is no civilization where the majority, that is the stronger, tyrannize over the minority, that is the weaker.

Without taking into account the agitation and irritation of public opinion ; without considering the profound uneasiness generated in all minds by the school question, who can compute the enormous sums of money that it has cost the public treasury through energies diverted from their natural

sphere of action, through the precious time which parliament, the legislatures, the press and the citizens have devoted to it, by the outlay of all kind that it has occasioned during the last five and twenty years? We will go still further and maintain that if the incalculable waste of social energy of which we have spoken could be represented by a sum of money to be set apart for the separate schools and the cause of justice, these latter would have sufficient provision for the next half century without any other aid from any one whatever. The question of expenditure ceases then to be an objection in a fair survey of the separate school system since it evidently costs more to society to refuse to render the justice that is demanded by the oppressed minorities.

With those who would exclude from the primary schools God, the immortality of the soul, the existence of good and evil, the eternity of rewards and penalties, the Decalogue and Jesus-Christ, there can be no compromise. They are pagans, deists,

nature-worshippers, boudhists while we are christians. If they had the power they would display the same bitterness against the protestant schools as they are showing against the catholic. But since (thank God!) they are few in number, they ally themselves with those who most nearly resemble them and who, we repeat, put as little religion as possible into their school programme. We will not discuss this abominable system which prevails in France : it is enough to point out the existence and the alliances of such theorists.

There remains one more objection which the opponents of separate schools do not dare to mention explicitly but which they whisper under their breath — we mean, the alleged incompetency of the catholic schools. They have been often challenged to prove the superiority of their methods to ours, but they have never taken up the gauntlet. Ah ! if they could only prove that the child trained in their institutions is a better christian, more learned, more enlightened as to the duties of a father and a

citizen—in a word, more civilized than the child educated in the catholic schools it is full time that the world were made aware of it! But the fact is well established that the catholic school or college in Canada is at least on a footing of equality with the protestant school or college, and that our classical system is superior to theirs. The jury of the World's Fair at Chicago has left no doubt as to the first part of this assertion: as for the second it is of such notoriety that no contradiction is likely to be attempted.

The protestant majority, it is clear, has no sound reason for refusing to the catholic minority the control of its schools. And if that majority persists in its foolish tyranny it is because it has become so fanatically blind as to be no longer capable of a calm, serious and reasonable discussion of the question. Sentiment has got the upper hand, and nothing is more difficult than to reason with hatred, with love, or with antipathies of race or creed. It is for this very cause that we maintain that it is at present

impossible for any government to bring justice to bear on the final settlement of the school question, save by means of an amendment to the Imperial Act of 1867, which is hardly practicable, or by an organic clause in the new constitution, which would be comparatively easy.

Strange ! At first sight it might seem superfluous to enunciate the following principle in the constitution of a british country : *Every citizen taxed for school purposes shall have control of his own taxes.* It is, nevertheless, this fundamental axiom of popular liberties that must be inscribed on the new regime if it is to have the life and the promise of a future full of strength and greatness.

The protestants of Canada look upon annexation to the United States as the most formidable of the political evils that could befall us. The english press without exception shares this sentiment. It would be, they say, a national disaster, an irreparable misfortune, an historic disgrace, and they are right, a thousand times right. But has it

never occurred to them that the most efficacious way to prevent that catastrophe would be to treat their catholic fellow citizens with justice ? The day when the latter will feel that they are treated as ill as their american co-religionists we do not hesitate to say that the autonomy of Canada will lose its surest support and canadian patriotism its most enduring energy.

All the States of the Union are profoundly hostile to the catholics on the school question : let the canadian constitution proclaim the inviolability of the father of a family on the matter of education, and at once the immense catholic minority will add to the already numerous reasons of its political allegiance the all powerful argument that its religious rights are recognized and assured in Canada, while they are ignored and persistently denied in the United States.

VIII

Here for the present our task comes to an end. In the preceding pages we have put forth certain considerations prompted by the actual situation in Canada. The synthetic method has enabled us, for the most part, to avoid the tone and arguments of special pleading. The grave problem for which we have offered a solution to our public men needs to be studied with all possible calm and coolness. It would be a crime to permit sectarian animosities or party prejudices to have any act or part in it. Anterior facts, history, the end of all human society, the national tendencies of the country, with their irresistible logic—these are the necessary and absolute elements of the discussion. The rest is secondary.

We affirm that the present state of affairs

can be continued only with grave peril. The economic and social forces of the nation are profoundly disturbed, and it is neither the desolating palliation of the *status quo*, nor the chimerical dream of Imperial Federation that will bring Canada salvation, but the natural and final, the salutary and fruitful evolution of her own national destinies. We inquired whether the country was or was not prepared for this supreme measure of emancipation, and we sought the signs characteristic of nationhood ; we then made due application to Canada. The federative system presupposes the existence of separate nationalities, and this *régime* which seems to be the usual formula for the governments of the 19th century offers all the security desired by the legitimate and regular development of its several autonomous groups. We asked ourselves whether Canada in her definitive development ran the risk of social and political overthrow, and if she was to find her enfranchisement in the sanguinary turmoil of a revolution : we endeavored to establish the contrary.

Next, examining the industrial and economic conditions of the country we maintained without fear of contradiction that our markets controlled by the Metropolis are no longer sufficient for the expansion of our productive powers. England prevents us from deriving from the American market all the advantages of which both we and our neighbours have need.

Without the liberty to make her own treaties of commerce Canada cannot long continue the protective system which menaces ruin, nor move towards free trade which would be speedy suicide.

Then again, how is Canada to be healed of the terrible disease of religious dissension which is now eating into her vitals. The state of this question we have endeavored to lay before the reader. The conclusion reached was that in matters of principle there can be no compromise. The Catholics regard the education and instruction of youth as something which first of all concerns their faith, as a matter of social interest with which the Legislature can exer-

cise but a limited right of interference. Is it possible that outside of the circle of the Douglasses, the Wyldes, the McCarthys and the Goldwin Smiths there exist no moderate, reasonable and practical elements with which it is feasible to enter into an understanding?

We deplore the extreme factions in all the camps. It is not to them that we address ourselves. Such men are exhaustless sources of intestine discord. They behave as if their fellow-citizens were bound to submit to their tyrannical doctrines, or, again, as if in the application of a principle it was not necessary to take into account the circumstances in which the application was made. Our suggestion was that the school question should be settled in such a way as to prevent for ever the recurrence of the discords of the present by making it the subject of an organic article in the new constitution of independent Canada.

Such is our plan ; such its statement. We submit it with confidence to public opinion in all the provinces. We solicit its discussion

in the press, in the clubs, in the literary institutions. We ask for it the careful consideration of public men and of their constituents, of heads of families and of young men, so that in the spirit of oneness they may be the better fitted to bear the weight of the future's grave responsibilities and share in the discharge of a common task the assurance of common hopes.
